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"THE EARLY MISSIONARY WORK OF THE FRENCH JESUITS IN NORTH
AMERICA WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE
HURON AND IROQUOIS MISSIONS."

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
of the
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE,
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
"MASTER OF ARTS"

by
EDWARD THOMAS POULSON
1909

THE EARLY MISSIONARY WORK

of the

FRENCH JESUITS IN

NORTH AMERICA,

With Special Attention Given to the Huron and Iroquois

Missions.

By Edward Thomas Poulson, A.B., A.M.

R E F E R E N C E S.

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THE EARLY MISSIONARY WORK
of the
FRENCH JESUITS IN
NORTH AMERICA,

Especially Among the Hurons and Iroquois.

There are perhaps but few passages of history that are more striking than those which tell of the heroic efforts of the early French Jesuits to convert the Indians of North America. Many of these efforts are full of dramatic and philosophic interest, and they also bear strongly upon the political destinies of America. While the small young colonies of England still clung feebly to the shores of the Atlantic, events, almost wholly unknown to them, that would eventually have great bearing upon their future, were in progress in the very heart of the continent, the main participants being the French Jesuits and the Red Indians of North America.

Before entering fully upon the description and discussion of the early work of these Jesuits in North America, perhaps it would not be amiss to speak briefly of the various Indian tribes among whom these missionaries did their work:

Chapter I.

The Indians of North America, their Origin,
Organization and Culture.

The origin of the Red Indian, or, more properly speaking, the American race, is shrouded in mystery, and while they are separate and distinct from the other great races of mankind, yet scholars

now regard it as almost a certainty that the first inhabitants of America were not indigenous to the continent, but that they migrated to it from Europe by means of a chain of islands or a solid neck of land which formerly reached from Greenland to Labrador; and some of them may have traversed the ice-bridge of Behring's Strait.

While much has been written about their marvelous physical endurance, their indifference to pain and fatigue, and their animal-like cunning and powers of deception, but little has been said of their mental endowments, by means of which their position in relation to the rest of mankind is to be judged. (The Colonies by Thwaites, P. 2-12)

Mr. Thwaites says: "In intellectual activity the red man did not occupy so low a scale as has often been assigned him. He was barbarous in his habits, but was so from choice; it suited his wild, untrammelled nature. He understood the arts of politeness when he chose to exercise them. He could plan, he was an incomparable tactician and a fair strategist; he was a natural logician;" and Horatio Hale in his favorable estimate of the race says: "Important investigation and comparison will probably show that while some of the aboriginal communities of the American Continent are low in the scale of intellect, others are equal in natural capacity and possibly superior to the Indo-European race." Another writer, Brenton Garrison, quoting Amedie Moure, says, "With reference to his mental powers, the American Indian should be classed immediately after the White Race, decidedly ahead of the Yellow Race, and especially beyond the African."

In their theories of government they showed some capability, though usually the political organization was weak. Thwaites says

(in "The Colonies", PP. 13, 14.) "The villages were little democracies, where one warrior held himself as good as another, except for the deference naturally due to headmen of the several clans, or to those of reputed wisdom or oratorical ability. In times of war the fighting men ranged themselves as volunteers under some popular leader--perhaps a permanent chief (who held a position similar to the German War-King, losing his power in case of failure or at the end of the war.) It was this weakness in organization inherent in a pure democracy, combined with their lack of self-control and steadfastness of purpose, and with the ever-prevailing tribal jealousies which caused the Indians to yield before the whites, who better understood the value of adherence in the face of a common foe."

In art and architecture they were far in advance of any of the inferior races of mankind. The statue of the great sun god in Mexico is declared by Humboldt to be one of the most sublime conceptions of man, and though they knew nothing of the square and plumbline, their great towns in Mexico, Arizona and Peru, and the less elaborate Long-Houses of the Iroquois were built with unvarying symmetry of plan and detail. Unto this day they are among the world's greatest masters in the art of pottery.

They were also skilful navigators, and their canoes were marvels of ingenuity, combining strength and lightness with ease of propelling and great resistance to the action of wind and waves.

In religion they were monotheists (Parkman's, "The Jesuits in North America." Introduction PP. 67-89 and the Iroquois Book of Rites, by Horatio Hale); believing in one great spirit, lord and ruler of

the universe, while opposed to him (the great spirit) was the evil spirit to whom they, perhaps, directed more attention than to the beneficent being; because, as they said, the good spirit was too good to harm them, but unless they could propitiate the evil spirit in some way it would be hard to determine what injuries he might inflict upon them. They believed in the immortality of the soul (though the belief was of course, vague) and the resurrection of the body. They were looking for the return of what they called the white god, hence when the white men first made their appearance among them, they were regarded by the aborigines as of supernatural origin, or even white gods themselves.

Their so-called priests were known as medicine men, and were for the most part cruel and tyrannical, but, as Brenton Garrison observes, "the ignorant Indian suffered no more from the tyranny of his sham-man than did the educated European from his priest;" for wherever priesthood flourishes liberty must of necessity be stifled in order that the system may be maintained.

The position of the women was much higher among some tribes than it was among others; for example, Parkman (in "The Jesuits of North America," p. xxxiii) tells us that female life among the Hurons had no bright side. However, in some of the tribes the women controlled the property and had an equal voice in the tribal council with the men. To be sure their lives were toilsome, but their dangers were less than those of the men, and, after all, their position was very little worse than that of the peasant women of Europe

today. There was a deeper family affection existing among most of the tribes than we sometimes think. A good husband would undergo severe privations for his wife and children, and the children (many of them) were taught to honor and respect their parents. These were the characteristics of many of the tribes, and the fact that these good qualities were wholly self-developed proves the great natural capacity of the race; for (unlike the peoples of the Old World) they had no one from whom to pattern their civilization.

Perhaps the greatest family, or tribe of whom we shall have occasion to speak was the Algonquins, who occupied the country from Virginia to the Hudson Bay and from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes. The principal tribes of this family were the Iroquois and the Hurons. The Iroquois occupied southeastern Canada, New England and New York. As indicated by their name, they were a confederacy of five tribes; viz, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Their confederacy was established by Hiawatha, an Onondagas chief, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Horatio Hale tells us that while each nation was to retain its own council and management of local affairs, the general control was to be lodged in a federal senate composed of representatives to be elected by each nation, holding office during good behavior, and to be acknowledged as ruling chiefs throughout the whole confederacy.

To the west of the Iroquois on the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, lived the Hurons, a nation of about twenty thousand souls living in some thirty-two villages, composed of about seven hundred "long-houses,"

each of which was occupied by a gens or clan consisting of perhaps a dozen or more families. These villages were all protected by a stockade or some lake, river or hill. They were a branch of the Iroquois who had become estranged from them because a Huron chief in a fit of rage killed his Iroquois wife. This crime (of the chief) brought on a long war between the tribes, in which war France and England later became involved, and finally ended in almost exterminating the Hurons as an independent nation.

Their government consisted of a confederacy of four tribes patterned after the Iroquois. The confederacy was governed by chiefs, whose office was hereditary through the female; their power was wholly of a persuasive or advisory character (Parkman). They had two great chiefs, one for peace and one for war, but there were numerous other chiefs of lower rank. (Parkman's "The Jesuits in North America," Int. P. 5-2-53.) These were supplemented by a council of tribal chiefs, and the unanimous consent of the latter was required to pass any measure. These tribal chiefs were elected by the vote of both the men and the women. The transmission of hereditary possessions and honors was through the female line. If a man was killed his slayer was required to bring to the family thirty gifts, but if the victim was a woman, forty gifts were required.

With the coming of the Jesuit missionaries (early in the seventeenth century,) the Hurons allied themselves with the French and the Iroquois made a treaty with the English. The Iroquois had by this time become so powerful by means of their league, or confederacy, that

the Hurons were in constant and in deadly fear of them and trusted in the French to protect them from their ferocious enemy. This the French often did, but in doing so they incurred the wrath and eternal hatred of the Iroquois.

So much for these different tribes among whom the French Jesuits were to spend many years of arduous toil.

Those early Jesuits were no dreamers; they were emphatically men of action; action was the end of their existence. Nevertheless, though strong and determined in the work they undertook, yet the existence of rival tribes among the Indians was, perhaps, the most formidable obstacle in the path of these missionaries. ("Jesuit Relations," vol.I,P.9.) Being fearful and superstitious of one another, the Indians naturally had the same feeling toward the white stranger who would chance to come among them, notwithstanding the fact that they at first thought the white man was some supernatural being, and received him as such; but distrust and hatred soon succeeded that feeling or sentiment of awe. ("The Colonies" by Thwaites,P.17.) Hence we are not surprised at the long time it took these missionaries to get even a start on their field of labor, New France.

Chapter II.

The Arrival of the Jesuits, Getting a Start in New France, Their Character etc.

The coming of these Jesuit missionaries to do work among the North American Indians was a very significant event. Some of them were true, noble, consecrated men, ever seeking to do good to their

newly discovered fellowmen: others were not so good, in fact, their aims were singularly selfish and unworthy of the cause that they claimed to represent. The first object of the best of them was to convert the Indians for the Indians' sake, and to establish a great branch of the Catholic Church in the Wilds of America. ("French Pathfinders in North America" by W. H. Johnson, P. 147, and "Jesuit Relations, vol. I P. 4.") There were others, however, whose first aim was to increase the power of France. These "political priests" were well represented by such men as the famous Father Alloué who, while he preached the gospel to the Indians took still greater pains to preach the glory of the French King whose subjects he wished to make them. This, of course, was only natural, since the Catholic Church had always been the mainstay of the French kings, and most evidently and emphatically so just before and after the Revolution. But those who really had the missionary cause upon their heart were the ones who made a success of their work. The French missionaries of that character succeeded as perhaps no Protestant European had ever done. These French Fathers lived with these people (the Indians) whom they were trying to convert to Christianity, shared their privations and burdens. ("Jesuit Relations," vol. I P. 38, 39.) Hence the work of these men among the tribes of New France must be admired by all lovers of noble, heroic efforts. American History would lose much of its welcome color were there blotted from its pages the picturesque and often thrilling story of these Jesuit missionaries, who did much as explorers as well as coming on missions of mercy to

these savage tribes. A few explorers like Champlain, Perrot and others have left valuable narratives behind them, which are of prime importance in the study of the early French settlement in America; but it is to the Jesuits that we owe the greater part of our most valuable information concerning the frontiers of New France in the Seventeenth Century. ("Jesuit Relations," PP. 37, 38.) It was their duty and they faithfully performed it, to transmit an annual report to their Superior, which report was a written Journal of their doings ("The Jesuit Relations translated by Thwaites."); it was also their duty to pay occasional visits to their Superior. Annually (between the years 1632-1673), the Superior made up a narrative of the most interesting and important events that had occurred in various missionary districts under his charge, sometimes using the words of the missionary himself, and sometimes giving a general summary, based upon the oral report of the fathers who came to visit the Superior. (These reports are known as the Jesuit Relations, some 70 vols.)

For the most part, these were men of trained intellect, close observers, and practical in keeping good and accurate records of their experiences. They had left one of the most highly civilized countries of their times, to make their way into the very heart of the American wilderness to endeavor to win to the Christian faith one of the most savage peoples known to history. To gain or influence these races, it was necessary to know them intimately, come in close contact with them, find out about their habits, their manner of thought, their strong and weak points.

These Jesuits, the first students of the North American Indian,

were not only well fitted for their undertaking, but none have since had a greater opportunity for its prosecution, and none have ever striven harder to execute their plans on the mission fields. Still, we cannot agree with Bancroft when he said, "Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." The *coureurs de bois* were the actual pioneers of New France; and yet *coureurs de bois*, for some reason or other, seldom kept a record of their travels or doings; hence, it is through the Jesuits that we learn of their previous appearance on the scene, not through *coureurs de bois* themselves.

In their narration, these Jesuits who were sincere and had their heart in their work never descend to self glorification, or dwell upon their almost continual martyrdom; they scarcely ever complain of their lot. We gain from their written reports a vivid picture of life in the primeval forest, as they lived it. We seem to see them as they start out on their long canoe journeys, sitting amidst their red-skin fellows, working their passage at the oars and helping to carry the canoe upon the portage trail; we see them made the objects of sport and scorn of the savage camp, sometimes deserted in the heart of the wilderness, obliged to make their way as best they can. Reaching at last their journey's end, we often find them vainly seeking shelter in the little huts of the natives, with almost every man's hand against them; but their own heart open to all men, no matter how low. We find them, when at last settled for a while, in some far-away village working as against hope, to save the unbaptized natives from eternal death; we can see the rising storm of opposition invoked and pushed on by the native medicine-man, and at

last the bursting climax of superstition sweep over their trembling souls. Perhaps never in any field of labor has been witnessed greater self-denial and personal heroism than theirs.

The fathers did not, of course, understand all about the Indian; their minds were much biased by the scientific fallacies of their day; but, with what is known today, the records of these Jesuits help the student to an accurate understanding of that untamed race of people. One writer has said that few periods of history are so well illumined as the French regime in North America. And why so, may we ask? To whom are we most indebted for such an illumination? In a very large measure it is due to the accurate writings or reports of those early, faithful Jesuit fathers, telling of their efforts, experiences, successes and failures in trying to save the newly-found savage races.

Chapter III.

The Huron and Iroquois Missions.

When Champlain had opened the way for the establishment of the French power in America, the task of bearing the Christian faith to the red man of North America was assigned to the Jesuits; because the kings of France were the great supporters of the church, and the court has stipulated that the savages were to be instructed only in the faith of Rome. ("Jesuit Relations," vol. I P. 5.) And too, it seemed that the Jesuit society was the best fitted to carry on to success, the mission work of France's newly acquired territory since efforts of other missionaries had proved a failure. ("Jesuit Relations," vol. I P. 5, 6.)

As we have already intimated, these Jesuits became the pioneers of discovery and settlement in the new country as well as the devout missionaries to its savage tribes. The paramount object with most of them was, we believe, the conversion of the heathen and the extension of the Catholic church; while their secondary object was to increase the power and dominion of France in the new country.

Within a very brief time after the restoration of Canada (1636), there were a dozen or more priests (Jesuits) in the province. The bold, aggressive, and self-denying Brebenf and Daniel were among them. Missionary efforts had been made before this, but they were almost a complete failure. But with the release of Canada to France (in 1632), the Jesuits were placed in charge of the missionary work, and right here the history of their greatest missions begins. Father Paul le Jeune came to Quebec on the fifth of July, and as Superior he at once began the study of the language and customs of the savages and to look over the great field about him.

On the bay of Lake Huron was erected the first mission house among the North American Indians. That first chapel, which was called the cradle of the church, was dedicated to St. Joseph. Here for a number of years the faithful Brebenf carried on his missionary labors, enduring all manner of hardships for the cause to which he had given his life.

As the stations multiplied in that part of the new country, the central place was given the name of St. Mary. Great success seems to have followed their efforts, and the mission awakened widespread interest in France. The king sent many beautiful and valuable presents over for the new converts. The pope was also well

pleased with the progress of the work, and to strengthen and confirm these missions, plans were laid for a college in the new country of France, which was established at Quebec about two years before the beginning of Harvard College. About 1640 Montreal was taken over as a missionary station, and within a few years the remote wilderness all up, around the Great Lakes, as far as the Mississippi was visited by some forty or fifty Jesuit Missionaries. ("Jesuit Relations" vol. I P. 7ff.)

About the year 1638, just six years after the history of the Jesuit missions begins, the plan was conceived of establishing missions not only on the north, but also on the south of the Great Lakes, and at the Green Bay. A vast expanse of wilderness, peopled with many tribes, opened the view of the missionaries, and they saw before them the great field of labor. But it will be impossible to treat in this paper all the missions opened and conducted by these Jesuit Fathers, hence we shall select two from the number.

The Huron Mission:- LeJeune and other Jesuits soon learned the difficulties of conducting missionary work among wandering, scattered hordes. Hence it was not long before they were looking most earnestly toward the vast lakes of the West where dwelt more thickly settled and stationary populations, especially the Hurons who dwelt on the Lake which bears their name. "Here was a hopeful basis of conquests;" for the Hurons won over to them, the faith would spread rapidly and in wider and wider circles, embracing one by one the kindred tribes. ("Parkman's "Jesuits in North America" P. 42 ff.)

At the time of the coming of the French, the Hurons (allied

in origin and language to the Iroquois numbered about sixteen or twenty thousand souls. They dwelt in several large villages, and their dwellings were bark cabins in a narrow district on the high ground between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. They were better fighters than the Algonquins about them, but they were obliged to withdraw gradually from the Iroquois persecution, who almost exterminated them during the period of the Jesuit missions.

The intelligence and mobility of the Hurons made the early prospects for missionary efforts among them very promising. But while at first the missionaries were well received, the natural savagery soon asserted itself. Their medicine-men began to plot the destruction of the messengers of the new faith; the coming of diseases and misfortunes were attributed to them; the ravages of their enemy, the Iroquois, were thought to be brought on because of their presence; they were terrified by the lurid pictures of the Judgment, and finally, an irresistible wave of superstitions frenzy led to the destruction and blotting out of the mission, accompanied by some of the most painful scenes imaginable. ("Jesuit Relations," vol. I P. 22.) In 1615 Joseph le Carson, a Recollect friar made his way into the far-away country of the Hurons, but returned in the following year. Some five years later another of his order, William Paulin, took up the task, being joined in 1623 by the historian Gabriel Sagard and several others. All of them, however, soon left the field save Father Viel, who amid almost incredible hardships attained some degree of success; but in 1625, when descending the Ottawa to meet and arrange for co-operation with Father Brebenf at Three Rivers, he was wilfully drowned

by his Indian guide just back of Montreal.

About 1626, the Jesuit (Father) Brebenf and Anne de None, having received some instruction in the language from Recollets, who had been in the Huron field, proceeded thither with a Recollet friar to resume the work which had been abandoned by the Recollets. Soon, however, De None and Daillon, Brebenf's two comrades, returned to Quebec and he (Brebenf) was left alone. There he labored gallantly among these people, and by his easy adoption of their manners, won their hearts and gathered about him a little colony of those favorably inclined to his views. ("Jesuit Relations", vol.I P.23.) He was recalled to Quebec in 1629, and on his arrival was transported to England, Quebec having fallen into the hands of the English. When France's lost possession (Canada) was restored to her (by the treaty of St. Germain), the Jesuits were given full charge of the Indian missions, but it was several years (about 1634) before the Huron mission could be reopened. In the following September, Brebenf, accompanied by Antoine Daniel and Davost returned to Brebenf's old mission field and began the greatest mission work, in the town of Ihonatiria in the history of New France. Other workers soon joined them, new missions were opened in the neighboring towns, the work was flourishing on every hand; in the cultivation of the soil and the fashioning of implements and utensils, both for the Fathers and for the Indians, many hired laborers from the French colonies on the St. Lawrence were employed in and about the missions. In 1639 there was built the fortified mission house (already noted) of St. Mary's, to

serve as a center for the wide-spread work, as a place for retreat for the Fathers and a refuge when the enemy pressed too closely upon them. The story of the hardships and sufferings of these missionaries as told by Parkman, Shea and others, and modestly told by themselves in "Jesuit Relations," is one of the most thrilling in history. Perhaps no men have in the exercise of their faith performed more heroic deeds than these Jesuits of the Huron Mission; and yet the progress of the work was very slow, especially for the first few years.

In the year 1642 Jogues was sent down to the colonies for some supplies for the missions, but with his Huron companions was captured by the Iroquois who led them to the Mohawk towns. There most of his companions were killed and Jogues was tortured and made to serve as a slave. Finally Goupel, a companion of Jogues, and a promising young physician was killed and Jogues was rescued by the Dutch and sent to Europe. With scarcely any supplies, the missionaries were left in a bad plight, but were finally relieved by an expedition undertaken by Brebenf and others.

Thus did the war-parties of the Iroquois often come upon or interfere with the Hurons and their sympathizers. However, in 1649 a temporary peace was formed and the hope of the Jesuits was greatly rekindled and strengthened; for they now had about five missions in as many towns and the outlook seemed much brighter than before. But in 1648 the Iroquois attacked one of their chief villages, in which attack the faithful Daniel lost his life at the hands of the enemy. Thus he was the first Jesuit martyr in the Huron mission and the second in that country, Jogues having been tortured to death (by the

Iroquois) two years before. The spirit of the Hurons seemed crushed under this terrible blow, and many of them fled in terror to seek shelter among some neighboring tribes, some of them going as far west as the Green Bay and the five forests of Northern Wisconsin. ("Jesuit Relations," vol. I P. 26.) Only a few towns were left, and one of these, called St. Ignatius was stormed by a thousand Iroquois in 1649, with only a few defenders escaping death. In November Fathers Garnier and Chabanel met their death in the Petun country, Garnier at the hands of the Iroquois and Chabanel being killed by one of the Hurons who imagined that the presence of the Jesuits was the cause of the great curses sent upon his tribes.

This about ended the missions in the Huron country. A few of the remaining Jesuits followed their flocks to the islands in Lake Huron, but in the following June (1650) the enterprise was entirely abandoned and the missionaries with a number of their followers retired to a village founded for them on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. After a while this settlement was destroyed by the Iroquois and a final stand was made at Lorette, near Quebec, which exists to the present.

The great Huron mission was conducted for about thirty-five years and had employed some thirty missionaries, of whom seven had died, as martyrs to the cause.

This important field forsaken, everything now seemed dark to the missionaries, and many of them returned to Europe. But in this hour of darkness, a new light breaks upon the alarmed and distressed colonies of New France. The Iroquois, being attacked by strong

neighboring tribes, and fearing that while thus engaged their northern (Huron) victims might revive and prepare for combined vengeance, sent overtures of peace to Quebec and cordially invited the once despised black-gowned Jesuits to come to them.

All was now over with the Hurons. The end of their existence as a nation had come; and with their fall the best hope of the Canadian mission was carried away. ("Parkman's Jesuits in North America P.393-449.")

The Iroquois Mission:- As we have heretofore noted, some of the French (especially Champlain) had early made enemies of the Iroquois by allying themselves with the Hurons, thus showing their opposition to the Iroquois. This enmity of the Iroquois extended to all New France and lasted for many years, perhaps sixty.

Father Jogues was the first one of the Jesuits to enter the country of the Iroquois, but he went as a prisoner of the Mohawks ("Jesuit Relations vol.I P.27,28.), one of the five tribes. A few years later they also captured another missionary(Bressani) while on his way to the Huron Mission, and after torturing him sold him to the Dutch who transported him back to France; but like Jogues, he came back to try to tame and save the savage. On his return to France, Jogues paid a brief visit to his former tormentors on the Mohawk to convey the expressions of good will from the ruler of New France. He then returned to Quebec for a while, but in the following August he and a young French comrade went back again to open up a mission among the Iroquois. Meanwhile, there had been a great change of sentiment on their part, and the two French missionaries were tortured and killed as soon as they reached the Mohawk.

Some seven years later, during an attack upon Quebec, the Iroquois captured Father Anthony Poncet and took him back to the Mohawks where he suffered in the same way as his predecessors; but his captors being very desirous of a renewal of peace with the French, spared his life and sent him back to Quebec, begging for renewal of peace. About the middle of the year 1654 one of the Fathers (LeMoyne) was sent forth to make an inspection of the matter, and a few months later returned to Quebec with glowing reports of his splendid reception by two or three tribes of the confederacy. It was determined to start a mission among them, beginning the work with the Onondagas tribe in 1655. The task was undertaken by Claude Dablon and Joseph Chaumonot, while Le Moyne at the same time reopened a brief and unsuccessful mission among the jealous Mohawks.

At first the enterprise with the Onondago seemed bright; but the natives soon became distrustful and the missionaries found it necessary to go back to Quebec and obtain new evidences of the friendship of the French. He returned in the summer of 1656 accompanied by LeMercier, Superior of the Canadian mission, and other workers and colonists under a militia captain, who said they were going to found a settlement in the Iroquois land.

In a short while the work seemed to be in a prospering condition; some of the Christianized Hurons (who had been adopted into the confederacy) proved great assistance in the work. Iroquois converts were soon made and in a comparatively short time all five of the tribes had been visited by missionaries. Recruits were

sent out from Quebec in 1657, especially for the Onondaga missions, but they had many perils en route. There had been a fresh uprising of the Iroquois against the Ottawas and Hurons in which one of the missionaries lost his life, and the whole confederacy was soon in a great uproar against the whites because of their former alliance with the ancient enemies. Le Moyne joined the party late in the year(1657),and in the early part of the following year,on learning that a plot had been made to put all the French to death, the entire colony stole away under the cover of night, reaching Montreal only after a long and dangerous voyage.

The Iroquois mission which had cost them so dearly and which at first seemed to have a bright future was now thought to be something of the past. However, in the summer of 1660, after two years of hard fighting against New France,a chief of one of the tribes came to Montreal as a peace messenger, asking for another minister to be sent to them, especially for the native converts and the French captives in the Iroquois villages. Le Moyne consented to go and at once set out on what seemed to be a fatal journey; but he fared much better than he had expected, and in the following spring was allowed to return home. But the raiding Iroquois were making life miserable in the colonies on the St. Lawrence, and it was some time before the government of New France felt itself strong enough to threaten chastisement. All of the tribes except the Mohawks sued for peace, but finally they too were driven to ask for mercy and assistance from the missionaries (Jesuits).

In 1667 several of the Fathers were sent out to them, and by the close of the following year a mission was in progress in each of the five tribal districts. Some notable converts were made, but it appeared evident that great success would never be possible. The vices and superstitions of the tribes-men were too deep-rooted, and their culture was by no means sufficient to enable them to be reached permanently with the spiritual doctrines of Christianity.

The converts were subject to so many dangers, annoyances and persecurion that it was thought necessary to put them off to themselves, and following their idea, the mission of St. Francis Xavier, opposite Montreal, was established. This settlement was subsequently removed by the French to Sault St. Louis, and is now known as Caughnawaga. ("Jesuit Relation", vol. 1 P. 31.) This mission (as well as ~~many~~ some others) was often recruited by Iroquois Christians or converts who wwre carefully instructed by missionaries .

This arrangement of the removal of the Iroquois from their tribes alarmed the chiefs of the confederacy. Endeavoring to please them, the Governor of New York (himself a Catholic) sent to the five nations several English Jesuits who sought to counteract this movement, but their efforts were in vain. The French did not abandon the Iroquois Mission until about 1687, when they were compelled to withdraw from the country because of the growing power of the English. However, there were occasional attempts after that to revive the work. The last of the workers, however, were driven out from the general field of the Five Nations about 1708. After this the French Jesuits gave their chief attention to their mission

at Caughawaga, to which place many Iroquois retreated for safety before the coming of the Dutch and English upon their lands. (Parkman's "Jesuits in North America," PP.428-433.) "When the black gowns (French Jesuits) were at last expelled from New France secular priests continued their work among the remnants of those New York Indians who had sought protection by settling among the French colonists on the St. Lawrence." ("Jesuit Relations," vol.1;P.32.)

Thus we have endeavored to describe in a brief way the beginning, development and decline of the two greatest missions conducted by the Jesuits among the North American Indians. The Huron mission as we have seen, came to an end because of the bullets, tomahawks and general cruelty of the Iroquois, which also brought the Huron nation to an end.

"The wisdom of the Iroquois was but the wisdom of savages. Their sagacity is not to be denied, but it was not equal to a comprehension of their own situation and that of their race. Could they have read their destiny, and checked their mad ambition they might have linked to themselves those strong communities (of Indians) that would have enabled them to resist encroachments of the foreign power. But their organization and intelligence were merely the instruments of a blind frenzy, which impelled them to destroy those whom they might have made their allies in a common cause. (Parkman's "Jesuits in North America,"P.434.) But it cost them dear, for in weakening and destroying other tribes they were being reduced themselves and made less able to resist the powers (French and English colonists) that were soon to take full possession of their

lands.

The most prominent Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons were: Fathers Brabent, Davost, Daniel, Garmier, Chaband and LeMoynes. Among the Iroquois were: Fathers Jogues, Le Moynes, Bressani, Dablon, and Chaumonot. Instead of giving a sketch of these faithful Jesuit heroes, we beg to refer the reader to Francis Parkman's splendid volume on "The Jesuits of North America."

Chapter IV.

Failure of the Jesuits in North America.

For more than half a century the Jesuits carried on their missionary work among the Indian tribes of North America, and yet they were great failures—at least so far as Christianizing these savages was concerned. The best hope of the Jesuits was swept away with the fall of the Hurons, for it was among them and their populous communities that they had hoped to form their Christian Empire in the wilderness. "The land of promise was turned to a solitude and a desolation." (Parkman's "Jesuits in North America," P. 446.)

There was still other work in hand, it is true, vast regions were unexplored, and countless heathens remained unreached; but these, most of them at least, were scattered hordes whose conversion (even if obtained) would have brought poor results.

In a very great measure then, the opportunity of the Jesuits was gone. Many of them went home, while of those who remained

(about twenty or twenty-five in number) some soon fell victims to famine, hardships, and the Iroquois. (Parkman's "Jesuits in North America," P.447.) Soon Canada ceased to be a mission field; political and commercial interests gradually became ascendant, and the story of Jesuit propagandism was interwoven with her civil and military annals.

The causes of the failure of the Jesuits are (some of them, at least) quite obvious.

1. They were at the mercy of the French trading companies. more and more did the fur trade assume large dimensions, and the desire for pelf, the possibility of the discovery of precious metals, gave commercial zest to almost every undertaking. Distrust and hatred of the Indians towards the whites were naturally enkindled when they discovered how they were being treated by many of the colonists in their transactions with them.

2. The Jesuits also failed in that provision was made for the gradual setting apart from the mission of those who showed ability and judgment to allow them to manage for themselves as they saw fit and proper. True, toward the end of the Jesuit occupancy, the St. Francis Xavier mission (opposite Montreal) was established for certain converts among the tribes who were subjected to many annoyances and dangers, but not because the Jesuits wanted them to think and manage for themselves independently. ("Jesuit Relation" vol. I. P. 31 and "The Jesuits in North America," by Parkman, P. 431.) They were kept too long in the place or degree of vassals, with no incentive to acquire manhood and independence. Consequently, when the

missions were suppressed, these Indian converts, who had never been allowed to act or taught to think for themselves were left in a state of helplessness.

3. A serious mistake made by the French under the leadership of Champlain (about 1609) caused them lasting trouble with the Indians, and was, perhaps, one of the chief causes of their defeat in the new world. Between Algonquins and Iroquois there was unquenchable hatred. The Algonquins being the nearest neighbors of Champlain, he courted their friendship, which was natural, and undertook to aid them against their hereditary foes. About 1609 he accompanied them in an expedition against the Mohawks, one of the Iroquois tribes. A battle was fought near the site of Ticonderoga, and Champlain won the victory over the astonished Mohawks, who had never before seen a white man. This victory was a fatal one for France; because that day the Iroquois were made their deadly enemies, and from that day on the warriors of the Five Nations hated the Frenchmen with an undying hatred. Besides allying themselves with the English, France's rivals in the New World, the Iroquois kept the French away from the Hudson River and prevented them from getting control of New York, thus giving the English the greater advantage in the strategic part of the country. (John Fiske's History of the United States, "PP. 54-55.")

4. Very few of the French thought of New France as their home. Unlike the English, they left their families in the old country, which made them rather poor colonists. Dissentions at home, inferior powers of organization, and the severity of the climate in

that ~~the~~ portion of the New World had much to do with the failure.
(Thwaites "The Colonies," P.43 and 49.)

It is well to note the fact that the French were failures as colonists up to the time of Napoleon I; but in modern times they have been remarkably successful, as seen in Algiers, Tunis and Madagascar where they have wrought wonderful changes as colonists.

Had the French succeeded in the New World, the Jesuits would have succeeded as missionaries. The unfortunate political and ecclesiastical policy and mismanagement at home naturally affected things here. ("The Colonies," by Thwaites, P.49, 50.) Greediness, jealousies, and pride were to be found among some of the Jesuit priests as well as among the French colonists, but taking them as a class, they were a noble, industrious, patient, heroic set of Christian set of men; and Modern America is today under lasting obligation to them, especially as explorers of the new country and as splendid record-keepers of their travels, work and experiences.

Mr. Francis Parkman says,--and with these words we close this paper: "The guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois were the ruin of the Jesuits' hopes. Could they have curbed or converted those ferocious bands, it is little less than certain that their dream would have become a reality. Savages tamed, not civilized, for that was scarcely possible, would have been distributed in communities through the valleys of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, ruled by priests in the interest of Catholicity and of France. The habits of agriculture would have been developed, and their instincts of mutual

slaughter repressed. The swift decline of the Indian population would have been arrested; and it would have been made through the fur-trade ; a source of prosperity to New France. Unmolested by Indian enemies, and fed by a rich commerce, she would have put forth a vigorous growth. True to her far-reaching and adventurous genius, she would have occupied the West with traders, settlers, and garrisons, and cut up the virgin wilderness into fiefs, while as yet the colonies of England were but a weak and broken line along the shores of the Atlantic; and when at last the great conflict came, England and liberty would have been confronted, not by a depleted antagonist, still feeble from the exhaustion of a starved and persecuted infancy, but by an athletic champion of the principles of Richelieu and of Loyola.

Liberty may thank the Iroquois, that, by their insensate fury, the plans of her adversary were brought to naught, and a peril and a woe averted from her future. They ruined the trade which was the life-blood of New France; they stopped the current of her arteries, and made all her early years a misery and a terror. Not that they changed her destinies. The contest on this continent between Liberty and Absoluteism was never doubtful; but the triumph of the one would have been dearly bought, and the downfall of the other incomplete. Populations formed in the ideas and habits of a feudal monarchy, and controlled by a hierarchy profoundly hostile to freedom of thought, would have remained a hinderance and a stumbling-block in the way of that majestic experiment of which America is the Field.

The Jesuits saw their hopes struck down; and their faith, though not shaken, was sorely tried. The providence of God seemed in their eyes dark and inexplicable; but, from the stand-point of Liberty, that Providence is clear as the sun at noon. Meanwhile let those who have prevailed yield due honor to the defeated. Their virtues shine amidst the rubbish of error, like diamonds and gold in the gravel of the torrent. ("The Jesuits in North America," by Parkman, pp. 447, 448.